

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Tom L. Johnson.

We reserve for a future time, not distant, the words we wish to write of this disciple of Henry George,—for that he was above all things else, practically, wearilessly, patiently, efficiently. The tribute we would pay him now could find no better utterance than this of Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, who was Tom L. Johnson's friend and coadjutor, who has his spirit and who was in his confidence: "In the passing of Johnson the nation has lost one of its best men. His career held the picturesque and dramatic qualities that inevitably distinguish a great personality. He was and will be a force for truth, equality and brotherhood. He had the pity of an Altgeld for the poor; he had the love for humanity that was in the heart of Golden Rule Jones; he beheld the vision of Henry George, and when he caught the vision he went to work to lift the burden from mankind. He called himself a Democrat, but he was greater than his party, as democracy itself is greater than all parties. He was no mere reformer. He was a politician in the fine and best sense of a term that has been too much degraded by its own exemplars; he was wholly practical and sane, and it was a noble privilege to have him for a friend."

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The Political Climax Almost in Sight.

Washington news dispatches begin to show signs of recognizing the tendency of American party politics, long inevitable and now culminating.

They foresee a stormy special session of Congress, but one so confusing in party alignments that nothing prophetic can be said of it. Four parties are distinctly visible, and the laminiferous lines run through both chambers. The Republican minority in the House is irreconcilably divided, with Standpatters on one side and Progressives on the other; in the Republican majority in the Senate the same division appears. Thus there are two Republican parties at the capitol. Each faction of either chamber co-operates with the corresponding faction in the other chamber. The Democratic majority of the House and minority of the Senate are similarly divided, with plutocratic Democrats on one side and democratic Democrats on the other.

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More and more closely does the political situation of the present seem to repeat in outward form that of the middle fifties of the last century. Though the issues are different, the chemical kinetics are alike. Even the issues are similar, for the difference between chattel slavery and economic servitude is not a wide one. Run your eye over The Public's prophetic outline of the present situation, made immediately after President Taft's election and on the basis of our political history. You will find it in the issue of The Public of November 13, 1908. "I know of no way," said Patrick Henry in his "liberty or death" speech, "of judging the future but by the past." It is indeed the best prophet; better misinterpret than neglect it. Human nature being constant, experience qualifies for judgment, and what is history but second hand experience?

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Bryan as a Muckraker.

William J. Bryan, speaking before the Y. M. C. A. of Virginia on the 9th, is reported by the dispatches to have quoted Theodore Roosevelt as saying there is scarcely a predatory conspiracy against the country that does not have Harvard brains behind it, and to have added that those men were no better than men who hold horses in a dark place for thieves to get away on after a burglary. This comment has probably made Mr. Bryan a muckraker—in the estimation of the men who hold horses for burglars and furnish brains for Big Business.

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Merriam's Defeat.

The progressive Republicans of Chicago are proving by their policy of permanent organization, that they need no assurances that the defeat of

Charles E. Merriam for Mayor does not defeat the cause his candidacy represented. Let us hope that the progressive Democrats who supported Mr. Merriam will prove their corresponding confidence in similar fashion.

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Although it is natural for men unselfishly in earnest in a political contest to feel when they lose it that they have lost all they fought for, those who do are none the less mistaken. The selfish seldom feel so, and never act so; and shall selfish politicians be the only optimistic ones? That which the progressive Republicans and their progressive Democratic allies fought for in the Chicago campaign for Mayor, the only thing worth their fighting for, has not been thrust back by the slight plurality against their candidate in the tremendous vote of last week. It has been advanced by the character and intensity of the struggle itself.

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Possibly the advance would have been greater had the plurality been the other way. But it might not have been so great. Victory hath her discouragements no less than defeat. And they are often more potent for reaction. The only certainty about the matter is that the greatest purposes of Merriam's candidacy have been advanced further by the kind of campaign he made and lost, than they would have been by the kind that might have elected him. As to the result, these political campaigns are not decisive wars; they are but the battles of a war. And that of last week in Chicago, what was it but a little battle, so little relatively as to be hardly more than a skirmish, in one of those great wars for human progress which, though many battles therein be lost, always end triumphantly.

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Mr. Merriam may or may not lead again on the progressive side, or at all. That will depend upon himself, if he lives; upon his own judgment of his own dominant motives in the recent contest, upon whether they were rooted deepest in personal ambition or in love for public service. He seems by all reasonable tests to have made this judgment in favor of the public rather than himself. What he declared repeatedly in varying terms throughout the campaign, he announces after his defeat, both by convincing word and appropriate action. "The battle must be fought," he tells his friends, "not once but many times, and in the long run will prove successful." He seems to have enlisted for no one battle or two, but for life or the war.

Harrison's Election.

For his election as Mayor of Chicago, Carter H. Harrison is indebted unmistakably to William Randolph Hearst and the influence of the Hearst papers; and woe betide Mayor Harrison if he forgets that fact or fails to realize it fully.

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Mr. Hearst and the Hearst paper, did not indeed marshal the army of voters that carried Mr. Harrison into office by his meager plurality. Neither did they line up those huge Harrison pluralities in the slum regions, where a dollar on election day or even a drink is more convincing than abstract considerations; nor the liquor-ring vote; nor the Big Business Republicans who professed to be for Merriam (some of whom contributed money to his campaign fund) but who would not like to declare their vote under oath and cross examination; nor Gov. Deneen's contingent; nor Lorimer's black horse cavalry. Harrison could have had all that support against any man of Merriam's type, without the aid of Hearst or the Hearst papers.

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The slum vote belongs to Harrison. He inherits it as an asset of his previous administrations. The liquor-ring vote was his for the asking; its campaign managers trust him as no genuine Democrat has dared to do since Altgeld's experience. The Big Business vote of both parties would no doubt have preferred a Roger Sullivan "frame up"; but as against Harrison, with whose politico-business theories they were familiar, and Merriam whose words were ominous and whose deeds had given his words the color of grim purpose, they were for Harrison. As to Deneen's and Lorimer's mutually antipathetic following, it was not that they loved Harrison more and Merriam less, but that Merriam, being of their own party, would have been in their way. Slum, liquor ring and Big Business, Deneen, Lorimer and all would have gone for Harrison regardless of Hearst and his papers. They would have gone for Harrison, though Hearst had remained in the Hearst side-party which he organized and financed to defeat Bryan; though Hearst's Illinois manager had not come to a suspiciously probable understanding with Harrison for Presidential delegates; and though the Hearst papers had opposed Harrison instead of supporting him. What Mr. Hearst and the Hearst papers did for Mr. Harrison—and this decided the election, so small was the Harrison plurality,—was to hold in line for him such progressives as are still under the delusion that Hearst's

aspirations in politics are the same as their own. Without that support, Harrison would have been defeated by Merriam at the election, as at the primaries but for Hinky Dink he would have been defeated by Dunne.

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The unsophisticated progressives who follow Hearst with all the innocence of greenhorns in a bunco game, have learned many things from the Hearst papers about Merriam that were not true. They learned that he is a Rockefeller protege, being a professor in a university endowed by Rockefeller; but they did not learn, what is the truth, that there are more independent progressives in the faculty of that university than in any other in the United States. They learned that rich Republicans contributed liberally to the Merriam campaign fund; but they did not learn that those contributions were from the same kind of democratic Republicans that co-operate with Senators La Follette and Bourne and Owen—such men as Charles R. Crane, Congressman Kent, and Rosenthal of the Sears-Roebuck house. They learned that Big Business was backing Merriam; but they did not learn, what the fact is, that Big Business shied at Merriam like an unbroken horse at a haystack on fire. It was these unsophisticated Hearst progressives that furnished the few thousand votes necessary to eke out the slum vote, the liquor-ring vote, the Big Business vote and the standpat Republican vote into the bare plurality that made them all effective for Harrison. Mr. Harrison may not think he is indebted for this decisive service to Mr. Hearst and the Hearst papers, but he is. He may not appreciate it, but Mr. Hearst does. And thereby hangs a tale of the future which the most venturesome in prophecy would hesitate to meddle with in advance.

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The Enemies It Makes.

If there is a crooked man in politics or business, he is opposed to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Honest men, too, there are who oppose this reform as sincerely as other honest men favor it; but there is no difference of opinion among the crooks. They are against it. The value of the reform is hardly proved thereby, of course, but the circumstance is not without significance.

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Progressive Legislation in California.

Franklin Hichborn will have a different tale to tell of California legislation this year from what he told of the preceding legislature in his book on the session of 1909. Governor Johnson seems,

despite the fears that he would be handicapped by a reactionary legislature, to have been able, like Governor Wilson of New Jersey, to hold legislative action up to his own level. It could not have been easy, for he was confronted by corporation interests with determined, powerful, subtle, resourceful and well paid opposition. Yet California comes out of this legislative session in the best of form. Among the progressive measures to its credit and the credit of Governor Johnson are these:

A railroad rate law redeeming Governor Johnson's campaign promise to "kick the Southern Pacific out of California politics."

Abolition of the party circle on election ballots.

Limitation of working hours for women in the industries to 8 a day and 48 a week.

The Oregon plan for election of United States Senators.

Abolition of the "assumption of risk" and the "fellow-servant" doctrines of the courts in personal injury cases.

Conservation of natural resources.

But best of all in the work of this California legislature and its progressive Republican Governor are the following Constitutional amendments for the people of California to vote upon:

Initiative and Referendum on 8 per cent. petitions.

Recall of elective officials, including judges, on 12 per cent. petitions.

Extension of jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission to all public utilities corporations.

Shorter ballot by making State Printer and Clerk of Supreme Court appointive.

Votes for women.

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RECIPROCITY AND THE FARMERS.

A statement by the master of the farmers' national Grange, N. J. Bachelder, made by him before the Senate committee on finance last winter, has been going the rounds. It is a plea in opposition to the Canadian reciprocity agreement now before the new Congress in special session.

We like the sound of it—"protection for all or for none."

But this slogan is not good against the reciprocity agreement. On the contrary, it is as good an argument for universal free trade as could be desired, and it tells for and not against that agreement.

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If that agreement were adopted, the American farmer would be as well protected as now, which is not at all.

He might then begin to realize that all through the protection game he has been played for a "chump."

Protection does not and cannot protect agricultural interests. It can and it does rob those interests for the interests it really protects.

In some local or individual instances near a foreign border, farmers may get slightly higher prices for some of their products, in consequence of protection; but not enough, unless in the most exceptional instances, to compensate them for the higher prices they have to pay for protection on manufactures. Away from foreign borders, however—and most of the farmers that Mr. Bachelder represents are far away from foreign borders—a tariff on farm products does not increase the price.

Except along the Canadian border, therefore, and in no great degree even there, the reciprocity agreement will not be prejudicial to any farmer.

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For that reason the adoption of the reciprocity agreement is highly desirable.

When the American farmer realizes that protection can not protect him, as he will realize soon after the adoption of the Canadian reciprocity agreement, he will be as eager to throw off the protection that doesn't protect but does burden him, as he has been to retain protection in general on the supposition that he gets some of it.

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It is due President Taft to say that in his speech at Atlanta, Georgia, he declared that when the negotiations began he "asked the Secretary of State and his commissioners to offer free trade in everything; but this Canada would not grant us, because she has a protective system and she was afraid of the competition of our better organized industries."

That is a fact for the farmers of Canada to ponder. But as to our own farmers, if a free trade reciprocity agreement cannot be made, what is to hinder their demanding the abolition of our protection system altogether?

Nothing but their own fallacious notion that there can be "protection for all."

For a generation American farmers have been buncoed by cunning protectionists. They are being buncoed now through the tariff law. They ought to know it, but apparently they do not. They will know it, however, if the Canadian reciprocity agreement goes into operation. And when they do know it, why should they continue to consent to a protective tariff which burdens them with high prices for what they buy, but neither protects them on what they sell nor any longer even pretends to?

Mr. Bachelder's cry of "protection for all or for none," sounds well. Let it circulate. It is good doctrine.

Whatever Mr. Bachelder may mean by it, it will soon come to have but one meaning—the only sensible meaning of which it is capable,—namely, universal free trade. "Protection for all" is as impossible as sailing a yacht with a bellows attachment, or lifting yourself by your bootstraps. Therefore, "protection for all or for none" must come to mean "protection for none" as fast as farmers wake up.

And for demonstrating this the Taft reciprocity agreement with Canada is likely to prove a powerful agency. By enlightening the American farmer it will take his vote out of the protection column. Nor will it make him any poorer. It will tend, on the contrary, to make him richer.



THE SANITARY DRINKING CUP.

To prevent the spread of pestilence, epidemic, contamination or worse, through the use of the public drinking cup, a crusade for sanitary drinking fountains is stirring up the city and nation. This is as it should be. No caution can be too great, no preventive too particular, where the health or safety of children or of the grown-up public is concerned.

Infection of the body, mind or spirit of hopeful, carefree, optimistic youth has always its tragic consequences. Hence the adoption and rigid enforcement of every meritorious measure designed to remove, prevent or destroy the insidious or malignant forces of disease, vice, corruption or injustice must be considered the most important business of modern life.



Besides the condemned, unsanitary public drinking cup, there is also the deadly cup of exclusive selfish enjoyment, given to the vicious, debauching and vandalistic uses of pride, profit, ambition, arrogance and the pursuit of power. A cup of drunken frenzy, filled with the biting, maddening poison of greed, vanity and the lust for conquest and command.

It stands in bejeweled, glaring insolence upon the sideboards and the altars of wealth and fashion. It is the loving cup of many of the big commercial and political organizations. It contains the toast of all the banquets of Big Business, as it quenches the thirst of mighty plunderers and exploiters.

The pirate crew that too often slips out of Wall

street toward Washington under cover of the well-prepared and confusing darkness of war-scares, industrial panics, financial reforms, political readjustments and self-locking Morganizations—where anything has been left open, lifts shamelessly on high the same soiled and blood-stained cup, to celebrate with wild rejoicing some splendid loot of the public treasury, the swift seduction of official virtue, or the easy strangulation of legislators whose wind was naturally short and sympathetic.

But the poison this venomous cup pours into the weakened vitals of these "upper class" corruptionists unfortunately but surely seeps down to the destruction of the foundation class—the workers.

Verily, no man shall drink unto himself alone.



Where a strutting bond-holder is fattened, a bent and broken bread-winner is shriveled. Where a pampered royal profligate scatters in drunken abandon and riotous waste his abundant store of wild oats, some hollow-eyed child in Southern mills or Northern sweat shops cannot in an endless, grinding day gather the value of enough honest wheat to buy a decent crust.

O, the lying, bitter, suffocating cup of Greed!

We could spare the spectacular, slimy creatures who scornfully stand upon the quivering sorrows of the mass and recklessly spill what of the poison they do not empty into their sordid souls. We could spare them—and, evolution or not, good riddance!

But the helpless ones who laboriously and ignorantly create the riches from which the poison is distilled! The tragedy is theirs. Theirs the loss, the misery, the starvation, the shame, the long, long despair and the hopelessness of the awakening that never comes.



Out of this stunned, poisoned and degraded state must arise another crusade. A crusade of workers, by workers, for workers. A crusade for the overthrow and abolishment of the demoralizing, deadly cup of Greed.

It must be a victory of votes—votes for men who represent the workers, men who cannot be bought, bribed, bullied or bedeviled by any of the arts, gifts, temptations or threats of the masters of money.

We need more open, public fountains of opportunity, of justice, of freedom to think, work and grow.

We need to do away with the taint of dollars,

and in place of their evil, blighting influence set running a copious stream of fraternal human understanding and human sympathy.

We need to cast away the accursed cup of Privilege, that the thirst of all men be freely quenched out of the abundant, living waters of equal rights.

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Not until the dull-witted guests of royalty realize the horror bubbling in their golden beakers, not until the straining men in the ditch behold the cruel shame and infamy of their battered and rusted cups of tin, shall the day of emancipation dawn.

The disease of greed at the top.

The disease of hunger and fear at the bottom.

They shall beget nothing but desolation and death.

Unless—shall we be restored?

Away with the golden and jeweled cups of Privilege!

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN AUSTRALIA.

Moonta, South Australia, Feb. 20.

In April a referendum vote is to be taken throughout the Commonwealth of Australia to alter the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

This instrument gives the federal Parliament exclusive authority to deal with inter-State and foreign trade and commerce; but the Labor party propose giving the Commonwealth power to deal also with trade and commerce carried on exclusively within the limits of a State—a power now vested in the respective State legislatures.

The Labor party also propose giving the Commonwealth exclusive power over labor and employment questions. Because some of the States are cursed with a Tory upper House, the Labor party would centralize all power in the federal parliament.

If the federal Labor party, which possesses a majority in both Houses of the Commonwealth, understood the principles of taxation, and applied the all-round land value tax instead of their present proposal, they would soon destroy the Tory power in the upper Houses of the States. The land question once properly dealt with, the need for restrictive industrial measures would cease.

A further question to be submitted provides for giving the federal Parliament power to declare any industry or business for manufacturing or supplying goods or service a monopoly, and to conduct such industry or business by or under the control of the Commonwealth, and for that purpose to acquire any property used in connection with the industry or business. A tariff which breeds monopolies is kept up, and then we are asked to deal with effects instead of causes.

These amendments, initiated by the federal Labor government, are almost certain to be carried.

E. J. CRAIGIE.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LETTERS FROM CHINA—IV.

Peking, January 31.

Chinese Cheap Labor.

Labor is plenty in this part of the world and, therefore, not very highly esteemed nor highly paid. At Kobe, in Japan, when we stopped there on our way, a man was at work picking buds off a tree—evergreen—to make the tree take a desired shape. He picked away patiently bud after bud. The next morning he was still picking buds off the same tree. How long before or after he worked I know not.

I am now living in my own house, with two servants. In addition, a man to take care of the pony if I get one will cost about four dollars a month or less and will live out of that. But he will do nothing except attend to the pony. The great number of this retinue is to be explained by the fact that a servant does not expect to do many things—also that that is the measure of his wages. With Feng Yang (the name is not the real one, but of my own coinage and I have as yet too little Chinese to know whether it would seem natural), I have entered into a contract by which he agrees to cook for me, and with Kwan Sun have agreed that he is to black my boots, run on errands, sweep, make fires and otherwise faithfully serve me.

Feng Yang is said to be a wonderful cook. When six unexpected guests arrived he was able to provide for them as well as for his employers. Once he sent in what seemed to be a pumpkin, and his mistress was wondering what he had sent that to the table for. When she cut into it with a knife, she found it was some sort of pie, so artfully browned over that it looked just like a pumpkin. Another time a fish came in—apparently with head and scales still on. But examination proved that Feng Yang had put on little pieces—yellow and white—alternately, in such a way as to look like scales, and he had also put on something that looked like an eye. On another occasion the lady cut open a pie and two little blue birds flew out. When he is not employed as a cook, Feng Yang earns his living by supplying sustenance for the dead. At a Chinese funeral it is necessary to provide the departed with things useful for his journey and residence in the other world; this is done by making paper images of horses, servants, houses, etc., and burying them. Feng Yang can make a paper house and lot to delight the soul. These horses, by the way, are conspicuous at the shops where they are sold. They are life size. So I am to begin house-keeping with a cook who is an artist, with a delight in the business of cooking. In Chicago you would pay for such a cook about forty dollars a month—or a hundred—besides feeding him well. With a former employer, Feng Yang received \$8 Mexican (\$3.64 U. S. gold) per month and provided his own food and house and supported his family more or

less out of that wealth. Kwan Sun has also worked for the same people and he got \$7 Mexican. I said nothing about wages, assuming that rates would be the same, but Kwan Sun sent word that he could not work for me at such prices. Apparently he had concluded that I am opulent. For you must remember that hereabouts the servants' compensation is apt to vary with the ability of the master. Is it because when there is so little demand for labor, the laborer must take what he can get and therefore what the master can pay?

So I offered to begin with the wages mentioned above for the first month, and increase each man's pay \$1 per month up to \$12 and \$10 (making a little more than \$5 gold for the cook, and slightly less than \$4.50 for the "boy"). And this I had supposed to be the understanding.

The other day I saw my "boy" coming from the post office with a draft for which I had sent him. He was grinning with joy and almost running, as he supposed that he and the cook would now be paid. In a few minutes the cook, acting as speaker of the Commons, presented himself before my throne and asked for his money. I was about to pay him in accordance with my understanding, but he said he did not like that; that he wanted me to give some fixed amount at once because he wanted to be able to tell his family and friends just what he got. Then he would have "face" according to the amount of his wages. I asked how much he wanted. He said that was for me to say; it is not polite for a servant to tell his master how much to pay. I finally told him that I would pay him \$10 for the month now completed and \$12 for the months about to begin. He will thus have the amount of "face" which corresponds to an income of \$12 (equal to about \$5.20 U. S. money). With this he will undertake to supply his family with all the necessities, comfort, convenience and luxuries that wealth can command or the imagination suggest.

Next I called into my presence Kwan Sun, my "boy." He was to do all my work, except what was left to the cook; but a few things, especially carrying water, he had not done, but engaged coolies to do them, and then I was called on to pay \$3 (\$2 for carrying water). I called Kwan's attention to this matter and he alleged first that his duties were heavy (he takes care of my rooms, goes on an occasional errand—once or twice a week, waits on the table, and washes my dishes). Then he referred to the great distance from the house to the well (it is about 100 yards). Finally he said that if he took that work, instead of leaving it to the coolies, he would be criticised for greed. I suppose that was the real reason. I proposed to give him \$7 the first month with a later series of raises monthly. He was not so modest as the cook. He said that he had a family in Eastern Peking; that his former employers pay wages exceedingly low, as all know, but that "a gentleman like yourself—"

These fellows find out all about their masters' affairs. Sir Robert Hart's cook came to him once with the week's reckoning and all the items were greatly increased, prices seemed to have gone up. The rascal had increased his own commissions in buying—what is called the "squeeze" out here. Sir

Robert protested. "Oh," said the cook, "Master got a raise this month." I agreed to give Kwan \$9 this month and take a further raise into consideration. When Miss Mary has her coming out party next month she will have to pay the orchestra and the florist out of her father's opulence of \$3.96 gold per month. I might have raised the opulence to \$4.44 by adding another silver dollar, but I was afraid the family would contract extravagant habits.

I am really somewhat ashamed to pay these fellows such amounts. Kwan would have to work eight and one-half years at his present salary (probably his highest) to earn the value of the check he brought so gleefully, providing he was never out of work. He is honest, faithful and patient; for all his faithful, patient effort to please, through his whole life he will not have received the amount which I have handled in these two months. That is the world's estimation of Kwan Sun from the cradle to the grave—the price of all his muscle and his fairly respectable brain; that his place and significance in the universe. Isn't it enough to make us all Communists? I doubt whether it would be quite the best thing to double these men's wages at once, but I have promised myself to do anything I can for their families if I can find a way to do it without doing more harm than good. Meanwhile, as I have really only enough work for one man, it is necessary to exercise some thought and ingenuity to contrive something for them both to do. I hope to save them from utter ruin by the temptation of idle hands.

I have just returned from a very interesting visit to a woolen mill six miles north of the city. The mill has been established to provide clothing for the Chinese army. The government holds half the stock, the other half is held by Chinese. The work is under the direct supervision of four men from Bradford, Yorkshire. One of the men took me through the mill from the beginning of the work to the end. They seem to make very good cloth. Three hundred Chinese do the work. These people had been field laborers working at 10 cents (Mexican) per day, or 4½ cents U. S. When the mill was opened it was proposed to give them twice that amount. But the men soon struck—without having a union—and gained an increase to three times their farm wages—i. e., 13½ cents. They work pretty well, though they must be supervised very closely. The Englishmen are on a five years' contract.

A weaver here getting 13½ cents does as much work, almost, as an English weaver who is paid \$1.80.

You may be interested in prices which obtain here. Take a few samples: My wash bill is 3 cents silver (equal to 1½ cents U. S.) for each garment, including articles as large as duck coat or trousers, or even a pair of Khaki riding trousers.

I had expected to order an American range for the kitchen—this would cost, I suppose, \$20 or \$30 gold, but I found that the brick stove which the Chinese use could be built for \$2 or \$3 Mexican. This latter seems to answer admirably. I have just received from a tailor a very good white duck suit, which costs me between \$3.50 and \$4.

One of the hotels advertises in the papers its

rates as \$5 to \$6 per day, or \$50 per month, but these presumably are silver, one-half the value of the gold.

The rug I ordered some weeks ago came Friday. It is a beauty—thick and soft like a covering of moss, and cheap—about \$28. An American told me the other evening that he got a rug at the same place for about \$28 and took it home with him, and a dealer in New York told him it should sell at retail for \$150 to \$200.

Walls and Roads.

One of the things which must impress one more here is the abundance and omnipresence of walls. A rural village has no real roads—none, that is, resulting from labor applied to that purpose; but every hamlet of half a dozen houses has its wall and closes its gate at night. When night comes on the gates of Peking are closed; a belated traveler may knock and shout in vain for admittance, unless perhaps he can show credentials. Any evening you may see the night watch marching out to guard the walls. (Against what?) As you go through the streets you see no houses—or seldom a glimpse—but on every side are walls. There seem to be no trees. Yet if you look down from a height—as the city wall—you look into courtyards planted with trees, and in some directions you seem to be looking upon a forest.

When I went out to the woolen mill the other day, I walked from the station and thus made acquaintance with Chinese country roads. They are like cow-paths, extending where people have happened to travel, an irregular net work which has never been paved or repaired; the wheels of carts cut deep ruts and in the course of centuries the soil has been washed out, so as to leave a deep ditch, which must become a torrent when there is a heavy rain. The ruts were so muddy in places (though there has not been much rain) that it took a terrible struggle for a pony to go through with a load of no weight. I thought I was lost. The chimney of the mill disappeared from sight as I walked through these ravines, but I happened to come out right.

On the return I came with a party of Chinese. There was no passenger train and it became necessary, since there were not donkeys enough to be had, for many of the party to walk, contrary to their habit. I walked the distance, more than six miles, without effort, while they were tired. The well-to-do Chinese are physically lazy; it is not quite dignified to walk when other means of transportation can be had. I was rather glad to impress them with the physical superiority of the foreigner—they need the lesson. At first they found the idea of physical exercise for its own sake hard to understand. Now, however, the students in the colleges are taking it up, quite in American fashion.

The streets of Peking, outside of legation quarters, are very dirty; that is, they are quite unpaved. Mere black earth, which has absorbed the filth of ages, frequently covered with many inches of dust or mud. This is the way we sprinkle the dusty streets in our town. Two men bring a large tub full of water, then one of them takes a woven basket about the size of a hen's nest fastened on the end of a stick and throws the water on the street;

when one space has been sprinkled they move on. As they are very patient, a considerable stretch of road is covered in course of time. Sometimes when there is water standing in the gutter the man throws this with his basket onto the dusty road. The gutter water is not clean. Yesterday I saw a man at a place near here, when the dust in the street was about six inches deep, smoothing the dust with some sort of a rake. Why he did this I do not know.

Children's Games.

I talked the other day with a young Chinaman about games he used to play when he was an urchin. It seems the Chinese boys play "Hide and Seek," "Blind Man's Buff" and "Fox in the Morning," alias "Pull-away," just as we did.

Postal Service.

Be careful about addressing letters to me. I do not know that they have gone wrong, but I suspect that the people who handle the mail do not know very much English. The Japanese, French, German and British maintain their own postoffices here. My mail from San Francisco crosses the ocean to Japan and is handled even here by the Japanese. My weekly Springfield Republican has not come for three weeks, and I suppose it has been sent wrong. So write plainly. The Chinese employ Englishmen in their postoffices to handle English mail; the Japanese try to read the English themselves.

W. M. E.

† † †

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM.*

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

In explanation of the widely differing attitudes of the British and American democracies toward the principle of the Referendum, The Public of March 10 (page 220) states that while over here the referendum is a people's referendum, part of the fast spreading movement for the extension of people's power in government, the proposal in Great Britain is a House of Lords' referendum, part of the fast dying institution of hereditary power in government; or, as an earlier issue of the Public tersely put it, "The essential idea of the referendum is that the people shall control it." The essential idea of Balfour's referendum is that the House of Lords shall control it.

But the provisions of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's "Reference to the people bill" are more democratic than we have hitherto been led to expect.

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The measure deals with two classes of bills—(1) "Rejected bills," which have been passed by the House of Commons, but thrown out by the House of Lords, and (2) "Carried bills," which have been passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Bills in the first category are to be, on the demand of either House of Parliament, submitted to a poll of the electors in the manner provided by the bill. Bills of the second class are to be "referended" in the same way if a petition is presented by not less than 200 members of the House of Commons.

*See The Public, vol. xiii, page 1153; this volume, pages 220, 229.

Bills in the first class have to be sent up to the Lords before the first day of July, and the measures will come into force if the Lords do not pass them within 40 days, or pass them with such amendments as the House of Commons will not agree to. A "carried bill" shall not be presented to His Majesty for assent until the poll has been taken, if such poll has been demanded.

Writs for taking the poll of the electors are to be issued to the returning officers of the constituencies by the King in Council, and the poll is to be taken in the same way as for the election of members of Parliament. No person is to vote in more than one constituency, and consequently plural voting will be abolished.

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This is the form of Ballot Paper under the bill:

Poll of the Parliamentary Electors of the United Kingdom Ballot Paper.			
Counterfoil No.	If you wish the Bill, the short title of which is "....." to become law, place a cross under the word "Yes." If not, place a cross under the word "No."	YES	NO

It will be seen that a Liberal House of Commons would have the power, by referring to the people a bill rejected by the House of Lords, of forcing that bill into law, and that objectionable bills passed by both Houses can be held up for referendum by a minority of the House of Commons.

Of course, it is not the "whole hog" by any means, but it would be a great stride forward, and would inevitably result in further extension of the principle, so soon as the people found its worth.

Further, as was pointed out in The Public of March 10, the "responsible ministry" system in British government has a remarkable tendency to make representative government truly representative of the people. Hence a referendum called by a minority in the House of Commons would approximate a referendum called by a stated percentage of the voters.

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Lord Balfour's bill further provides that "If the total affirmative vote in the United Kingdom shall exceed the total negative vote by not less than two per cent of the total negative vote, the bill shall forthwith be presented to His Majesty for assent in the form in which it was presented to the electors." Surely, a not inconsiderable extension of people's power this.

Yet, strange to say, the more radical the average Britisher the more bitterly he opposes the whole idea.

Even so advanced a journal as the Daily Chronicle spurns the proposal as "a device alien to the spirit of our representative institutions." "It would undermine the responsibility of the House of Commons; it would transfer authority from ministers to the man in the street, and, associated with the Initiative, it could be used as a short, sharp and terribly effective method of redistributing wealth by means of taxation; it is passing strange that prudent men should be so rash as to give countenance to this attempt to remove the seat of authority from the wisdom of the senate to the ignorance of the street." Thus the radical Chronicle. No fear of

the power of privilege there; all fear of the power of the people!

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Truth to tell, the evolution of British democracy has been a remarkably slow process. They, the people, have not yet shed their insularity, their love of a lord, their reverence for the "gentry." Yet British government today is nearer to true democracy than that of many a republic. Like a butterfly newly emerged from its chrysalis, British democracy has not yet discovered its powers. It has grown so accustomed to its silken wrappings that it is nervously afraid of trying its wings. Some day, and perhaps some day soon, it will open its eyes to the astounding fact that a Tory peer had offered it one of the most radical concessions ever devised for the transference of political power from Privilege to People. Meanwhile, insularity and party prejudice render it blind to its opportunities.

SEYMOUR J. FARMER.

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LUCINDA B. CHANDLER.*

Denver, Colo.

On her 60th birthday, nearly 25 years ago, she exclaimed: "Congratulate me! I am 60 years old today. How fast I am leaving the years behind me." At that time she and I were patients at Dr. Jackson's Sanitarium in Dansville, N. Y., and it was my good fortune to have many an hour of conversation with her, for neither of us was too sick to talk or think. To know her was an inspiration to a broader, higher life—a life consecrated to human service. Mrs. Chandler was a democrat in the largest meaning of the word. Her pamphlet entitled "Subsistence and Justice" seemed to me to contain the best possible summing up in small space of the economic injustices which give much to the few and little to the many. I gave away several of these pamphlets and have none left. Who knows where a copy could be found?

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

*See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 245.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, April 11, 1911.

Death of Tom L. Johnson.

In Cleveland on the 10th, at 8:47 in the evening, Tom L. Johnson died. [See vol. xiv, pp. 322, 325.]

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A full account of his career down to the close of 1905, accompanied with a supplement portrait taken in the prime of life, will be found in The Public of January 6, 1906.

One of a Southern slaveholding family impoverished by the Civil war, he won a fortune as a traction monopolist. A millionaire when he went into office, he left office a comparatively poor man. Strong and alert of body and mind, he gave way slowly over a period of six years, and painfully for two, to a wasting disease. At his death he was within three months of fifty-seven years of age.

Mr. Johnson was for two terms a member of Congress and for four the Mayor of Cleveland. Lincoln Steffens described him as "the best mayor of the best governed city in the United States." Superficial observers identify his municipal administration with his policy of 3-cent car fares; but this was never with him more than the first step toward greater reforms—municipal operation of traction utilities, municipal operation of all other public utilities, exemption of industry from taxation, taxation of land values, complete restoration of publicly caused values to the public treasury, a model city, and practical realization in Cleveland of the social vision of Henry George.

Proceedings in Congress.

President Taft's message to the special session of the Sixty-second Congress on the Canadian reciprocity agreement was submitted on the 5th. Referring to the text of the agreement transmitted to the Sixty-first Congress last winter, the President's message explains:

This agreement was the consummation of earnest effort, extending over a period of nearly a year, on the part of both governments to effect a trade arrangement which, supplementing as it did the amicable settlement of various questions of a diplomatic and political character that had been reached, would mutually promote commerce and would strengthen the friendly relations now existing. The agreement in its intent and in the terms was purely economic and commercial. . . . The House of Representatives of the Sixty-first Congress, after the full text of the arrangement with all the details in regard to the different provisions had been before it, as they were before the American people, passed a bill confirming the agreement as negotiated and as transmitted to Congress. This measure failed of action in the Senate. . . . In concluding the negotiations the representatives of the two countries bound themselves to use their utmost efforts to bring about the tariff changes provided for in the agreement by concurrent legislation at Washington and Ottawa. I have felt it my duty, therefore, not to acquiesce in relegation of action until the opening of the Congress in December, but to use my Constitutional prerogative and convoke the Sixty-second Congress in extra session in order that there shall be no break of continuity in considering and acting upon this most important subject.

[See vol. xiv, pp. 220, 225, 320.]

The Democratic leader of the Senate was chosen on the 7th in Senatorial caucus, when Senator Martin of Virginia received 21 votes to 16 for Senator Shively of Indiana. Mr. Shively was supported by the progressive Democrats. Mr. Martin's support came largely if not altogether from reactionaries, Senator Bailey of Texas being most prominent. Commenting on the choice, Mr. Bryan was reported from Washington on the 8th as saying that—

he regarded the election of Thomas S. Martin of Virginia as minority leader of the Senate as very unfortunate for the Democratic party, Mr. Martin representing the reactionary element. "The rule of seniority," said Mr. Bryan, "invoked in his behalf would not stand examination. That rule may do in the army, but in representative government the man who is still in the Senate because the people have not had a recent opportunity to put him out ought not to speak with more authority than the man who comes fresh from the people."

The political complexion of Congress was reported from Washington on the 4th as follows:

Senate—Republicans, 50; Democrats, 41; vacancy, 1 (from Colorado, where the legislature is Democratic).

House—Democrats, 228; Republicans, 160; Socialist, 1; vacancies, 2 (from the ninth Iowa and the second Pennsylvania districts).

Senator Lorimer Again.

New disclosures regarding the election of United States Senator Lorimer by the Illinois legislature have revived the case both as a State and as a Federal question. The disclosures originated in a statement editorially by H. H. Kohlsaas, of the Chicago Record Herald, to the effect that a "slush fund" of \$100,000 had been raised to elect Mr. Lorimer. Thereupon the Helm investigating committee of the Illinois Senate, demanded the facts of Mr. Kohlsaas. He refused them at first, on the ground that they had come to him as newspaper confidences; but later he went before the committee with a statement that the confidence had been released and that his informant was Clarence S. Funk, general manager of the International Harvester Company. [See vol. xiv, p 226.]

Mr. Funk, responding to a subpoena, appeared before the investigating committee on the 5th and testified. Asked his reasons for releasing the confidence, he answered: "I did not want to see my friend go to jail." He then testified that soon after Lorimer's election, he, Mr. Funk, met Edward Hines of the lumber trust accidentally, at the Union League Club in Chicago, in the large lounging room off the entrance, and that Mr. Hines—

said that I was just the fellow he had been looking for or trying to see, and he said he wanted to talk to me a minute. We went away and sat down in one of the leather couches at the side of the room. Without any preliminaries and quite as a matter of course, he said: "Well, we put Lorimer over down there at Springfield, and it cost us about \$100,000 to do it." He went on to say that they had had to act quickly when the time came; that they had no chance to consult anybody beforehand, and I think his words were these: "We had to act quickly when the time came, so we put up the money." He said: "Now we are seeing some of our friends so as to get it fixed up." He gave me to understand that whereas they had advanced the money, they were now seeing different people who they thought would be interested, to get them to reimburse them. I asked him why he came to us. I said: "Why do you come to us?" meaning the Harvester Company. He said: "Well, you people are just as much interested as any of us in having the right kind of a man at Washington." Then I replied: "We will not have anything to do with this matter at all." He said: "Why not?" I said: "Simply because we are not in that sort of business." We had some discussion back and forth, and finally I asked him how much he was getting from his different friends, and he said: "Well, of course, we can only go to a few big people, and if about ten of us will put up \$10,000 apiece that will clean it up." That is the substance of the conversation and I am repeating it verbatim as far as I can, Mr. Chairman. I don't undertake to say that it is absolutely exact. I left him then in just a moment. As I left him he asked me to think it over, and I made no reply to that and just walked away.

Asked by the committee if he recalled any reference to a person to whom the money was to be sent, Mr. Funk replied that he did, but refused to repeat the name until ordered by the committee to do so, whereupon, in answer to successive questions, he said:

Well, I will answer, under protest. He told me to send the money to Ed. Tilden. I think he is president or vice-president of some one of the banks at the stock yards, and I believe he is one of the officials of the National Packing Company. I do not know. I understand he is president of the National Packing Company, or connected in some official way with that company. The exact language Mr. Hines employed with reference to the direction to send the money to Ed. Tilden was, as I remember, "Just send it to Ed. Tilden." It might be proper for me to say that I have no acquaintance with Mr. Tilden, never met the man in my life to my knowledge, and I have not and had no reason other than that I have stated regarding bringing in his name.

In answer to further questions, Mr. Funk testified:

Two or three days after I told Cyrus A. McCormick, president of the Harvester Company very briefly what Hines had said to me and he wanted know what I said to him, and I told him I said we would not have anything to do with it, and he said: "Good, I am very glad you turned him promptly." That was the substance of it. We

had some further conversation and Mr. McCormick was considerably surprised. He was somewhat surprised and somewhat chagrined that we should be approached in that kind of a manner. About the same time I told Edgar A. Bancroft, general counsel for the Harvester company, about it.

Regarding the Record-Herald editorial, Mr. Funk replied as follows to questions of the committee:

Mr. Hines came to my office a day or two, a short time—it may have been no more than a day or two—but a short time after that editorial appeared. He was very much disturbed at that time and undertook to refresh my memory as to what our conversation had been. I cannot repeat his language exactly, but in substance it was to the effect that his former conversation with me had been merely a general discussion of the situation down there and that he had not asked me for any money and he did not know anything about any money having been raised.

Mr. Hines had testified before the committee on the 18th, a week before Mr. Funk's testimony, as follows:

(Q.)—Did you ever discuss with any one, Mr. Hines, the question of raising money to aid the election of Senator Lorimer or any one else for that position? (A.)—Absolutely no. (Q.)—Have you any knowledge or information with reference to any one or any person who did aid or solicit funds for the purpose of affecting the situation? (A.)—Absolutely no. (Q.)—Do you know of any money having been raised to be used in the campaign? (A.)—No. (Q.)—Either before or after the election of Senator Lorimer? (A.)—No. (Q.)—Did you personally solicit or receive a fund or funds to be used in connection with the election of Senator Lorimer? (A.)—I did not. (Q.)—Did you personally, or your firm, contribute any money for that purpose? (A.)—Not a dollar, sir.

Since Mr. Funk's testimony, Edward Tilden has publicly denied his alleged connection with the matter; but he has not yet been given an opportunity to appear before the investigating committee.

Following the Funk disclosures in the Lorimer case and based thereon, Senator La Follette introduced on the 6th in the Senate of the United States a resolution naming Senators John D. Works, Charles E. Townsend, George P. McLean, John W. Kern and Atlee Pomerene as a special committee to investigate and report to the Senate whether in the election of William Lorimer, as a Senator of the United States from the State of Illinois, there were used and employed corrupt methods and practices.

Organization of Progressive Republicans in Chicago

At a luncheon at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, on the 6th, attended by over 500 progressive Republicans and at which Alderman Charles M. Thomson presided, a permanent Cook County

local organization of progressive Republicans was begun with the appointment of an organization committee of one for each Congressional district. The committee announced is as follows:

Chairman—Charles E. Merriam.
 First District—Harold L. Ickes.
 Second District—Arthur V. Lee.
 Third District—J. H. Gilmore.
 Fourth District—James W. Breen.
 Fifth District—John Simon.
 Sixth District—Walter S. Rogers.
 Seventh District—C. R. Bechtel.
 Eighth District—W. J. Janiszewski.
 Ninth District—Charles H. Hamill.
 Tenth District—Charles M. Thomson.

Prior to the organization proceedings, Alderman Merriam, defeated on the 4th for Mayor, said:

This is not a local movement. It is broader than Illinois and as broad as the United States. We must link up with the progressive voters of the other 101 counties of Illinois and of other States, and fight, in season and out, for the triumph of the principles for which we stand. Our defeat was the sort that eventually spells certain success. When 160,000 voters unite, it is a movement that must be reckoned with.

Mr. Ickes is quoted as saying:

The old Republican machine is a corpse. With the exception of two or three, all the county committeemen knifed Merriam at the polls. Harrison didn't defeat Merriam. It was Mayor Busse, Senator Lorimer and Governor Deneen.

[See vol. xiv, p. 276.]

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A Progressive Political Program.

In order to enable the people to "establish their own rule in place of the rule of the Special Interests," a program for securing united progressive action in each party at the national election of 1912 is submitted by The Progressive Federation, of which George H. Shibley (Bliss Building), Washington, D. C., president of the People's Rule League of America, is the chairman. The committee includes Lincoln Steffens, Dr. C. F. Taylor, S. S. McClure, Norman Hapgood, Samuel Merwin, Wm. W. Young, Robert W. Woolley, George P. Hampton, J. W. Helme, Byron W. Holt, Jackson H. Ralston, Lucius L. C. Garvin, Eltweed Pomeroy, and Albert H. Bedford. Premising that privileged interests control national and State governments through machine politics, thereby controlling both parties and regulating business to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many; that this control has succeeded because the people have not been sufficiently well organized in their own behalf; and that "there are many representatives of the people in office, in both parties, being known as People's Rule advocates or Progressives, and at the next year's elections within both parties (the primary elections)

the people in the rural districts and in most of the city districts can control within both parties if properly organized for the work;" the programme proposes that those citizens who accept it—

mutually agree to organize into People's Rule Clubs, Republicans to be enrolled in progressive Republican clubs, one in each voting precinct, and Democrats to be enrolled in progressive Democratic clubs, one in each voting precinct, the two sets of clubs to work separately; the plan being for each club to declare its choice for presidential nominee and to name the presidential candidate who is backed by the special interests; and to ask neighbors to join and thus help to defend themselves.

During January, 1912, club members throughout the country shall vote for presidential nominees, the two candidates in each party who receive the highest vote to become the ones for whom the delegates to the conventions are to be pledged, each community to determine for itself the order of its two choices; and to see to it that at the primary election within their respective parties next year there are People's Rule candidates for every office within the party, including delegates to conventions, and People's Rule candidates for nomination to such of the public offices as are directly voted upon by the members of the respective parties, and to help get out the vote for the people's cause at the primary election—help defeat at the primaries the ticket of the Special Interests should one be presented.

No third party is intended, but general co-operation in both parties is asked. Literature on the subject will be forwarded upon application to the Federation at the Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

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Women at the Municipal Elections.

Fourteen women were elected to public office on the 4th in Colorado. In Pueblo, a city of 45,000, Miss Carrie Trumer was elected auditor. In Colorado Springs, a city of 30,000, with the most fashionable and cultured population in the State, Mrs. May Ammon was elected city clerk. The others were Miss Florence Driscoll, alderman, Durango; Miss Lena Pleak, treasurer, Greeley; Miss Laura Graham, treasurer, Fairplay; Miss Ida Guemer, clerk, Alma; Miss Shackelford, treasurer, Alma; Miss May Davis, treasurer, Ridgeway; Miss Myrtle Goodrich, treasurer, Montrose; Miss Antoinette Hilgenhaus, daughter of the Mayor, treasurer, Telluride; Mrs. Elsie Cubbs, treasurer, Idaho Springs; Mary Sarrell, clerk, Aspen; Frances Cahill, city clerk, Las Animas; Charlotte Hebschle, treasurer, Leadville. In Kansas, Mrs. Ella Wilson was elected Mayor of Hunnewell. In New York and New Jersey women voted March 21 under a new law which permits women of property to vote on questions of finance in their communities. As a result Mrs. Mary L. Hinrichs of Connecticut, N. J., has the distinction of being the first woman to be elected to any office in that town. Mrs. Henrietta Jenkins of Yardley, N. J., was elected member of the Board of Education. And in

kee two women were on the 4th elected members of the Board of Education.



Socialists in the Local Elections

According to the news dispatches there were several Socialist victories and some defeats in the local elections of last week. At Krebs, Okla., two Socialists were elected aldermen (giving the Council two Socialists and two Republicans), and the Socialist candidate for Mayor was defeated by only two votes by a Republican, there being no Democratic candidate. At the school board and judicial election in Milwaukee, the Socialists were defeated; but in Racine they elected one alderman and a justice of the peace, and in Superior two aldermen and two county supervisors. Manitowoc, which had gone Socialist before and then reacted, went Socialist again last week. Pasadena, California, elected a Socialist Mayor, as did Girard, Kansas; and in Galesburg, Illinois, the Socialist vote was so largely increased as to make the Socialist candidate for Mayor run second. The Chicago Daily Socialist reports Socialist victories also at Beatrice, Wymore and Red Cloud (Nebraska), Victor (Colo.), and Fort Scott (Kansas). [See vol. xiii, p. 1155; vol. xiv, p. 321.]



Pearl Button Lockout in Iowa.

A lockout of pearl-button makers at Muscatine, Iowa, of which but few facts have leaked out through regular press reports, is thus explained to The Public by Alice Henry, editor of Life and Labor:

Yet another industry is in the throes of an industrial disturbance, although the newspapers so far have barely alluded to it. It covers a wide area. The manufacture of pearl buttons is one of those great small occupations whose importance we overlook—until something happens. In this case the something that has happened is the refusal of a large number of the workers to go on living and working under dangerous and unhealthy conditions.

The pearl button industry has its center in the small towns on the banks of the Mississippi in Iowa and adjacent States. The workers in Muscatine, Iowa, one of the chief button-making centers, lately realized that individually they were helpless to better their lot. Only a strong trade union could do that. They proceeded very cautiously and carefully for some months, until at the close of February the employers began to be alarmed and by way of bringing matters to a crisis closed down every plant in the town on the pretext of being overstocked with buttons. The lockout has now continued for nearly seven weeks, the employes on their part refusing to return unless their organization is recognized. The union now includes 2,900 workers, men and women, almost the entire force of button makers in Muscatine. They keep the factories picketed, hold daily mass meetings with occasional parades, and are very wisely spending their funds, not in money benefits but on the

commissary plan, supplying meals and food to the members on production of tickets.

One of the ablest of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Emmett Flood, is now on the ground. Organizers from the Women's Trade Union League, Miss Emma Steghagen, Miss Katherine Finnegan, Miss Zelig Emerson and Miss Gertrude Barnum, have also been in Muscatine, while the secretary of the Button Workers' Protective Union, Miss Pearl McGill, a very young girl, but fired with the very spirit of labor, and Miss Pauline Lange, are in Chicago now telling the story nightly to their organized brothers of every trade. Emigrants from Muscatine have also been sent on the same errand to New York, St. Louis, Des Moines and also to the small button-making towns farther up the Mississippi.

What are the grievances which have driven these workers out of the shops? First, it would seem, as nearly always, comes the question of wages. It is all piece work, and as the workers are speeded up to turn out more, so are the wages cut all the time. When the married men find themselves unable to earn more than \$9.00 a week they are driven to seek the help of their wives and little children and you have a new home industry installed, the industry of sewing pearl buttons on to cards with a sheet of tin foil between for 1½ cents per gross. Pearl buttons are cut from the fresh water clam of the Mississippi. These are supposed to be clean when sent to the factory; but they actually have often bits of the shell fish adhering, which decay and make the water in the tubs not only exceedingly offensive but also poisonous, so that when the cutter puts in his hand to lift out the shells, he runs daily risk of blood poisoning, a risk far too often realized. Then the heating and ventilation of the factories is bad and toilet facilities are utterly inadequate. Still another grievance is the unprotected condition of the machinery. Fingers are gashed and tips cut off in the drilling machines, and occasionally a whole arm will be drawn into iron jaws whence it can not be released until the machine is taken to pieces. The workers consider that they should see the buttons weighed for as matters are at present, although a gross is supposed to be as in the schools books, twelve dozen, or 144 buttons, after a foreman has weighed a few hundred gross the worker finds that he is being paid only at the rate of so many cents per gross of, it may be, 160 or 200 buttons.



Unearned Increment in Toronto.

The city of Toronto has finally secured Parliamentary authority for "excess condemnation" upon acquiring lands for public improvement. This was given at the last session of the parliament of Ontario, by the insertion of the following clause in a measure affecting the city, the clause being now known as Clause 12 of an act respecting the City of Toronto, 1911:

The said Corporation may acquire by purchase, or without the consent of the owners thereof or of persons interested therein may enter upon, take and use not only land actually required for the opening, widening, extension or straightening of a street or

the laying out and establishing of a park or playground, but also any land within 200 feet of the limits or sides of such street, park or playground; and shall pay such compensation for any land so taken or injuriously affected by the exercise of any power conferred by this section as may be agreed upon, or in default of agreement as may be determined by arbitration under the provisions of the Consolidated Municipal Act of 1903. Provided that the corporation shall sell and dispose of so much of the said lands as are not required for such work, within seven years, or within such further time as may be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

This is the first time in the Province of Ontario, and probably the first time anywhere, that a city has been allowed by law to expropriate land for the special purpose of securing the added value given to it by public work. It appears to be one form of the movement for securing unearned increment for public use—interpreting the term “unearned increment” in the narrow sense in which it is most commonly employed, namely, that increase of value which attaches to land during the period between its purchase and its sale. [See vol. xiii, p. 949.]

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The Ferrer Question in Spain.

After more turbulent and threatening debating in the Cortes over the trial and execution of Francisco Ferrer last year, the Chamber of Deputies on the 8th rejected by a vote of 129 to 23 a Republican motion demanding that the Government introduce a bill modifying the code of military justice and abrogating the law of jurisdiction. The dispatches report that the Premier, Mr. Canalejas, announced that the modification of the military code was already on the program of the Government and that the law of jurisdiction could not be abrogated before the military code was modified. The protracted debate thus ended as anticipated, in a noncommittal verdict. [See vol. xiv, p. 323.]

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An incipient Republican revolt was reported from the Province of Malaga in the south of Spain on the 10th.

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The Russian Constitutional Crisis.

Mr. Rodzianko was elected President of the Douma on the 4th, in place of Mr. Guchkoff whose resignation was reported two weeks ago. Mr. Rodzianko is classed as a Conservative, and was the candidate of the Octoberists. [See vol. xiv, p. 301.]

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For the first time in its history the Council of the Empire, the upper house of the Russian parliament, on the 6th adopted an interpellation attacking the Government, by a vote of 98 to 52. The interpellation related to the action of the Government in promulgating the Zemstvo bill by Im-

perial ukase during a forced proroguing of the parliament, as reported last month. The dispatches report that the galleries were crowded for the discussion of the interpellation. Prince Troubetsky declared the government had violated the normal course of legislation and the stability of the fundamental laws reposing in solemn Imperial ukases. Senator Naryshkin, spokesman for the Conservatives, said the members of his party were not worried over the constitutional guarantees, but the Government's action had shaken the trust of the people in the Czar's word. Prof. Kovalevsky, representing the left wing, declared that the council of ministers had usurped legislative functions; its action meant that the council of ministers claimed a decisive voice in case of disagreement between the upper and the lower chamber. [See vol. xiv, p. 301.]

NEWS NOTES

—A conflagration in Tokio, the capital of Japan, on the 9th, swept over four square miles and destroyed about \$3,000,000 of property.

—One hundred and twenty-eight men, most of them Negro convicts, perished in a coal mine explosion at the Banner mines, near Littleton, Ala., on the 8th.

—Mr. James McCarthy will address the Chicago Single Tax Club (508 Schiller Bldg.), Friday, April 14, on “The Opportunities of Single Taxers in the Organized Labor Movement.”

—A bill which is reported in effect to provide for direct nomination of United States Senators, was passed on the 7th by the Minnesota Senate. A similar bill has been passed by the House.

—Governor Wilson, of New Jersey, sent a message to the legislature on the 11th, urging the establishment of the commission form of government for New Jersey cities, with initiative, referendum and recall provisions.

—A \$25,000 monument in Chicago to the memory of Governor John P. Altgeld is proposed in a bill introduced in the Illinois Senate on the 6th by Senator Waage. The bill was referred to the committee on appropriations.

—Men teachers in the elementary schools of New York city appointed hereafter will receive no more pay than women, the Board of Education having adopted that method of equal pay for equal work. [See vol. xii, pp. 494, 1095.]

—Senators Borah, Bristow and Culberson introduced resolutions in the United States Senate on the 6th for amending the Constitution so as to provide for election of United States Senators directly by the people. [See vol. xiv, p. 206.]

—Cornelius McAuliff, for many years managing editor of the Chicago Record-Herald, died on the 10th at the age of 61. Mr. McAuliff, though intense in his devotion to newspaper work as a profession, was independent in opinion and of radical mind as a citizen.

—Without a dissenting vote the Senate of Iowa adopted, on the 6th, a House bill providing for the

sterilization of habitual criminals, imbeciles, idiots and feeble-minded confined in State institutions. The measure is now before the Governor. [See vol. xii, p. 61.]

—In addition to the lecture dates for Charles Frederick Adams given last week, the Henry George Lecture Association announces him for Sherbrooke, Quebec, on the 11th; Coburg, Ontario, for the 13th; London, Ontario, for the 18th, and Fargo, North Dakota, for the 23d.

—At the Chicago election on the 4th the referendum in Chicago on annexation of Oak Park, Cicero, and Morgan Park was affirmative; and in Cicero and Oak Park it was overwhelmingly negative. Morgan Park, having voted in the affirmative, will be annexed.

—Totals of the official count of votes at the municipal election of the 4th in Chicago are as follows: for Mayor: Harrison (Dem.), 177,997; Merriam (Rep.), 60,672; Rodriguez (Soc.), 24,825; Brubaker (Pro.), 2,239; and Prince (Soc.-Lab.), 1,058. [See vol. xiv, p. 321.]

—The Massachusetts House of Representatives rejected on the 4th the bill granting suffrage to women by 161 to 69. Last year the vote against a similar bill was 148 to 47. The Senate rejected the bill on the 10th by 31 to 6. [See vol. xiii, p. 322; vol. xiv, p. 300.]

—Victor Berger, the Socialist member of Congress from Wisconsin, has been assigned upon his own choice to the committee on the District of Columbia. This is one of the committees of which Henry George, Jr., is a member. It is virtually the board of aldermen of the national capital.

—The Saskatchewan (Canada) legislature, which adjourned on the 23rd, enacted a law giving the cities and towns of the Province power to reduce the valuation of real estate improvements 25 per cent each year for four years, thereby placing all real estate taxes for local purposes upon the unimproved values of land.

—The "Free Acres Village" for "arts and crafts workers and others," is a community near New York city which is modeled on the Fairhope and the Arden perpetual lease plan. Collier's described it in the issue of December 1, 1910; and Miss Amy Hicks, 400 W. 23rd street, New York city, offers detailed information about it by mail.

—At the first commission plan election in Springfield, Illinois, held on the 4th, Mayor Schnepf was re-elected by 6,109 to 3,682, with the following commissioners: George E. Coe, Willis Spaulding, H. B. Davidson, and Frank M. Hamilton. Joseph Farris was especially opposed by the public utility corporations and fell 1,534 below their candidate. [See vol. xiv, p. 280.]

—The suit against the United Hatters of North America, brought by D. E. Loewe & Co., hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn., in which that firm got judgment for \$74,000 at Hartford on the 4th of February, 1910, as damages under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, has been reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in New York. Judges Lacombe, Coxé and Noyes were unanimous in deciding to reverse the lower court. The suit was based upon the ground

that the boycott against their product of hats instituted by the hatters' organization was in violation of the anti-trust law. [See vol. xiii, p. 132.]

—The British revenue returns for the year ending March 31 show the enormous total of \$1,019,252,940—or over \$20,000,000 more than Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, estimated in the last budget. This is the first time the Imperial revenue has exceeded \$1,000,000,000. The surplus revenue over expenditures amounts to \$28,033,830 from April 1, 1909, to March 31, 1911—the entire period of the two George budgets. [See vol. xiii, pp. 961, 924.]

—"The Scientific Government Club" has been organized in Chicago, with headquarters in the Fine Arts Building, for the purpose of holding open discussions on political subjects with special reference to Henry George's theories. Officers are: H. L. T. Tideman, president; Otto Cullman, first vice president; R. R. Waterbury, second vice president; S. G. Evans, secretary, and George J. Tideman, treasurer. Open meetings will be held each Tuesday evening.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the eight months ending February 28, 1911, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for February, were as follows [see vol. xiv, p. 182]:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,433,879,517	\$1,015,734,362	\$418,145,155 exp.
Gold	10,606,500	55,180,661	44,574,161 imp.
Silver	40,411,002	31,426,020	8,984,982 exp.
	\$1,484,897,019	\$1,102,341,043	\$382,555,976 exp.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for March, 1911, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911 [see vol. xiv, p. 207]:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	89,454,526.40
Total	\$239,454,526.40
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1910	250,490,783.99
Decrease	\$11,036,257.59

—E. B. Swinney, manager of the Single Tax Information Bureau (134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn, N. Y.), announces receipts and cash on hand for the three months ending March 31, \$94.90; with expenses, \$34.85. During the past three months 267 applications for literature have been responded to, the total number of documents sent out having been 10,029. Mr. Swinney says they are now sending literature to the 7,000 members of the National Educational Association, and that they especially receive requests for literature from public and college libraries. [See vol. xiv, p. 62.]

—The Persian government has arranged with a number of American financial experts to act as a commission for a complete reorganization of the finances of Persia. Their contract is for not less than three nor more than five years of service. On the commission are Bruce Dickey, formerly in the United States government service in the Philippines; R. W. Hills, an attorney of Washington; Charles T. M. McCaskey, who recently resigned from the customs service in New York, and W. Morgan Schuster, formerly in the United States government service in

Cuba and the Philippines. The commission sailed from New York on the 8th. [See vol. xiv, p. 255.]

—The Monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government for March shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911. [See vol. xiv, p. 207.]

Receipts	\$502,059,040.53
Disbursements	501,080,291.25
	\$ 978,749.28
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	2,039,142.63
	\$ 3,017,891.91
Ordinary excess	28,196,104.83
Panama Canal deficit	\$ 25,178,212.92
Public debt surplus	7,738,063.65
	\$ 17,440,149.27

—Demand for "the passage without delay of the resolution for the Constitutional amendment for Initiative and Referendum now under consideration" by the Illinois legislature, was made at a non-partisan mass meeting in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, on the 7th, at which Mayor-elect Harrison and his defeated opponent, Alderman Merriam, spoke for the resolution, and Senator Burton presided. The following committee was named to urge the adoption of the measure upon the legislature: Carter H. Harrison, Charles E. Merriam, Alderman Bauler, Alderman Tearney, George E. Cole, George E. Hooker, Howard S. Taylor, Robert Catherwood, John E. Owens, R. A. White, Frank C. Bruner, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Peter Bartenz, Alderman Harding, Judge Dever and E. J. Tobin. [See vol. xiv, p. 298.]

—Charles H. Mann is announced to deliver a course of eight free lectures at the Assembly rooms of the Women's Municipal League, 46 East 29th St., New York City, at 8 o'clock on the Monday evenings from April 10 to May 29. His first, given on the 10th, was on the passing of the church and the coming man; the others are on the following subjects: April 17, the work and the play of religious worship and the universe as man's word of God; April 24, the whence and the why of good and evil and the teaching of the universal word; May 1, laws of order, the commandments of God, and supermorality; May 8, progressive stages in the life of man and the supermoral life; May 15, the gentleman and the man, and selfhood of the coming man; May 22, the spiritual commonwealth and social redemption; and May 29, the significance of the trend of life, and organized solidarity of man the symbol of God.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Chinese View of Journalism.

Peking Daily News, February 11.—The Kuo-feng Daily News made its first appearance on Friday. In its Inaugural Editorial, it said that nowadays it is the purpose of newspapers to gather national and foreign intelligence with a view to informing the public, and to publish editorial articles with the object of furnishing guidance to rulers and legislators. The Kuo-feng Daily News, therefore, has for its object, the instillation into the mind of the Chinese

populace a public spirit and the exercise of supervision over political parties.

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The Senatorial Election in Illinois.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), March 30.—Now let the stricken deer go weep, the hart ungalled play. The mystery that was so deep at last is cleared away; they had to take the blonde haired boss, for "Hopkins wouldn't come across!"

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The "Conspiracy" Against Ballinger.

Collier's (ind.), April 1.—The President spoke with some violence of what he is pleased to call a conspiracy. His words can do no injury to Mr. Pinchot, Mr. Garfield, Mr. Brandeis, Mr. Glavis, or Collier's. The only part of his letter which tempted us to comment was the reflection upon the integrity of Mr. Kirby. There, we confess, we felt like making an answer. Mr. Kirby is a stenographer with a family. He shrank from the step which his conscience pointed out. He was a religious man, and he could not quiet the inner voice. What he revealed proved definitely that there had been unfortunate work in high circles; that Mr. Wickersham had misdated a report in order to make the American people believe the President had made an investigation which he had not made; and that Mr. Taft had not been sincere with the Senate when that body asked for the evidence on which his decision had been reached. We felt that for the President of the United States to use such language about a hard-working and conscientious stenographer, for a public service which was given at great risk to himself and his family, left something to be desired.

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Plutocracy at Work.

San Francisco Star (dem. Dem.), March 25.—In order that San Francisco may construct and operate a municipal railway on Geary street, \$600,000 worth of bonds are now being offered for sale. The bonds bear four and one-half per cent interest, and all experts admit that the securities are gilt-edged. Nevertheless, with the exception of \$35,000 worth, the banks refuse to buy these bonds. About a year ago \$500,000 worth of similar bonds were offered for sale; the banks refused to have anything to do with them, and they were sold to people who drew their savings from the banks in order to buy. Recollect that these bonds are conceded to be first class. Now, why do the banks, usually so glad to secure excellent, long-time securities, refuse to have anything to do with them. The answer is so evident that a child might give it. Big Business is standing in with Big Business. If San Francisco operates a municipal railway successfully, it will be an example to other cities to go and do likewise, and every railway thus owned and operated lessens the water-soaked profits of some private corporation—the United Railways in San Francisco, for instance. The public may get better service for less money, but Big Business is hurt; and "the people be damned!" Concisely stated, this is precisely what the refusal of the banks to buy our bonds means. . . . Well, let's see that the bonds are sold regardless of the bankers.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

ON DA VINCI'S HEAD OF THE CHRIST.

For The Public.

O bruised and bleeding brow of Mankind's Christ!
O silent lip, O sealed and sightless eye!
I marvel not thy matchless love sufficed
A Godless, loveless rabble-world to buy!
Thou hast been story, poem, parable and dream;
Thou hast been love and law and song and beauteous
Faith;
Thou hast been epic verse and lilt of mountain
stream—
Thou hast giv'n Life its grandeur, and disarmed
grim Death;
Thou hast been argument and answer for all men;
Thou hast been court and judgment—just and pure
and strong—
Thou hast been fire and frenzy to sword, tongue and
pen
In every struggle where Right warred with Wrong!
BERT HUFFMAN.

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WHY WE MAY NOT REST.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood in the Pacific Monthly.

I sigh: "Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo! then would I wander far off and remain in the wilderness!"

But what business have I, or has any man, to rest in the peace and beauty of the wilderness, when millions with as good a right as I to life and the joy of a full-fed existence in the sunshine are submerged beneath an all-whelming toil from which their haggard faces never lift?

It is not right. No man shall ever convince me it is right. I can prove it is wrong.

In my limited sphere I am the apostle of "No Charity," "No Paternalism," "A Free Opportunity" and the "Survival of the Fittest." But when men tell me that every one in this land has equal opportunity and the plutocratic class is the survival of the fittest, I deny it. I am only sorry such honest men, as I know them to be, honestly believe it.

There is the rub, they do honestly believe it. What! The child of the anthracite coal fields or the slums of New York, of equal opportunity with the farmer's lad of the open West? The gilded flies of Newport buzzing against the summer sun, the survival of the fittest? No! Nor their fathers.

There never has existed in the world and does not today, the field of equal economic opportunity; men are still governed by the property class. The laws make the special privileges and the special-

privilege class make the laws. It is a vicious circle.

Every multimillionaire in America has reaped from some special privilege field, created by law, as truly as ever did king or noble. They do have the wit to seize upon the opportunity of special privilege.

There is the survival of those fittest for the exploitation of the masses, and for keeping firm hold on the predatory laws. But this is not equal opportunity to all, nor survival of the humanly and humanely fittest.

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CHRIST'S SOCIAL TEACHINGS
PRACTICABLE.

Brief of a Sermon Preached in the First Congregational Church of Muscatine, Ia., March 5, 1911, by the Pastor, the Rev. Arthur S. Henderson.

Christ had a splendid social ideal, an ideal of a social order of social justice, peace and genuine brotherliness. He called it The Kingdom of Heaven. His teachings are largely directed to showing men how to live together well in order to realize that ideal. His teachings are practicable for every one who will look at things from his viewpoint and catch his spirit. There is a disposition even in the church to count the social teachings of Christ as too high for practical application and action under all the conditions of life in which a modern man is compelled to act.

But Jesus did not discriminate or make exceptions in the application of his teachings. He did not say that the Golden Rule was only for individual action and not for public life. He never said that when a Christian was called upon to act as a trustee for an insurance company, or a telegraph company, or an express company, or any other kind of company, he was in that capacity not expected to act in accordance with the principles and precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. He never said that a man must be faithful to his wife and a good father to his children and clean in his private life, but that if it were necessary to buy votes in order to gain a seat in the senate it was allowable by the exigencies of politics. He made absolutely no provision under which a man may be less honest, less brotherly, less righteous, less fair dealing in extraordinary conditions than under those which ordinarily obtain. He made no provision for fighting fire with fire, or for paying the devil in his own coin.

Christ summarized the law in two sentences, the second of which is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The man who loves his neighbor as himself may have no affection or liking for his neighbor. He is not commanded to have. He is commanded to have the will and

purpose to do for his neighbor what he would do for himself. He must give his neighbor justice and a square deal as he claims them for himself. He will demand justice of himself for his neighbor and he will demand it of other men for his neighbor.

Christ depended on this basic principle of love to one's neighbor as to one's self to preserve social justice and to bring about in the world a true fraternity. Fraternity regards the rights and needs of all, and leaves no man to pursue his own way or conduct his own business or do his own work without regard to the welfare of each and all. What justice may not even demand as a right, fraternity may impose as a brotherly obligation. Christ leaves absolutely no place in the relations of men for the application of any economic, social, or political practices that are unfraternal.

These teachings of Christ are practicable for those who have caught his view point, his ideals, and his spirit. They are practicable, not for cloistered saints for whom they were never intended, but for men and women set in the trying conditions of domestic, social, economic and political life. For his disciples they are imperative. By doing them and leading others to do them the kingdom of heaven will come in the realization of the social ideal of Christ. The Kingdom of Heaven will have farms with crops growing on them, factories with goods in them, railroads for transportation, employers and working men, newspapers and political institutions even as now, but the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule will be practiced in all the relations and duties of life. It can be done. Some time it will be done. By some in every relation and condition of our broken and disordered social life it is even now being done.

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THE EASTERN POLITICAL CON- SCIENCE.

From an Article in the *San Francisco Star* of February 11, 1911, by W. G. Eggleston of Oregon.

When I migrated from Philadelphia to Chicago in 1885, men were discussing the Australian Ballot; political bosses were examining it with great suspicion. The Direct Primary law was an unlaidd egg; the Initiative, Referendum and Recall were unknown in America; the Commission form of city government was unheard of; direct election of United States Senators was in the dream form; and the idea of raising all public revenues by a Single Tax on land values had taken root only in the minds of a few harmless or harmful "cranks," depending on the point of view.

When I went from Illinois to Montana in 1896, most of the northern States had what is called the Australian Ballot law; the Recall and the Com-

mission form of city government were still unknown, but the Populist party had twice demanded the Initiative and Referendum in its national platform, though not in the form now being adopted in so many States. It was in 1896, under the direction of Governor Altgeld, that the Democratic party of Illinois put into its platform a plank for county home rule in taxation, and it was in January, 1897, that Governor Robert B. Smith, of Montana, recommended to the legislature the application of the Single Tax to all lands belonging to the State and at the same time recommended the submission of an Initiative and Referendum amendment.

Fifteen years ago it would have been hard to get a corporal's guard of votes for the Initiative and Referendum in any State east of the Mississippi river; now it would be very difficult to defeat an Initiative and Referendum amendment in any of those States except Mississippi; and the sentiment for Direct Legislation is a true index to the mind of the people. The public conscience of the East has been awakened; it is the new conscience that demands representation as a remedy for misrepresentation, and popular government instead of delegated government. It demands all the democratic tools of government by which the people may manage their own affairs, regardless of political bosses.

All through the East the people are interested in Oregon; not because fine fruit is grown in this State, not because of Oregon's forests and soil, but because politically it is the most progressive of all the States. That is, the people of Oregon have and are using for their own benefit more political power than is possessed by the people of any other State. The people of the East are interested in everything that is done in Oregon, because they want for themselves the democratic tools of government that Oregon voters have. They listen attentively and ask questions about the working of the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, the Direct Primary law, the Corrupt Practices Act and the extension of the Direct Primary nominating system to Presidential nominations; they contrast our method of electing United States Senators with the auction-block system still in vogue in the old States.

One would hardly suspect this from reading eastern metropolitan papers; but go to the editorial offices of the really great magazines. Go to Everybody's, the American, Pearson's, Hampton's, Collier's, the Outlook, the Independent, the Saturday Evening Post—where you can get a more accurate record of the pulse of the people than you can in the office of any daily paper in any large city of the East.

One proof of the successful invasion of the old East by new ideas of government is the fact that some of the New Governors of Eastern States have just recommended the Initiative and Referendum

to the legislatures of their States. Most State Governors are merely political camp followers; few of them represent the people. But Foss of Massachusetts, Wilson of New Jersey, Osborne of Michigan and Davidson of Wisconsin are notable exceptions east of the Mississippi River. These men are working for the people rather than trying to work the people.

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THE CALL.

For The Public.

An awakening and a stirring
Under ground!
A whispering and a listening,—
'Tis the sound
Of the mighty magic trumpet!
At its call
All the countless hosts are moving —
That is all.

Smiling lies the pale arbutus
In her dreams
Of the warble of the blue bird,
Song of streams;—
'Till the violet shyly whispers,
"Dear one, hear,
'Tis the Resurrection Angel
Drawing near!"

The rich meaning of the message
Who can know?
Over hill and over valley
Sweet its flow;—
Psyche suddenly awaking
'Neath Love's kiss—
Fair Persephone escaping
Halls of Dis.

Childhood springs to greet the sunlight,—
All is new.
Clouds may gloom,—behind the greyness
Shines the blue.
Faith arouses from her sleeping,
And the soul
Safe and trustful in His keeping,
Knows the whole.

Such a light shall reach the doubter
Mid his dearth,
Giving glimpses wide of Heaven,
Wings to earth!
Cold, indeed, the heart not lifted
By this call,
With its note of love for many,
Hope for all.

GRACE ADA BROWN.

BOOKS

THE IDEALS OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

When I began to pick up the various writings of William Morris, both prose and verse, clear back to his youthful Oxford romances, I only knew him

as a designer, a worker in the lesser arts, and a preacher of the doctrine that all things must be made beautiful.

But now as I read his remarkable books, the manly and womanly ideals and the wonderfully broad human fellowships which he so clearly sets forth, have made him one of the most suggestive of modern writers.

I do not mean to include with any especial emphasis his "News from Nowhere" and the "Dream of John Ball," now more widely read, I think, than those books which, for me at least, count for much the most in the contribution made to human happiness by this very lovable man.

Almost out of print in these days are his "Sundering Flood," "The Glittering Plain," "Well at the World's End," "Water of the Wondrous Isles" and "Roots of the Mountains." Nor are there so many who read his most striking poem, "Sigurd the Volsung."

Nevertheless in all these greater books William Morris appears to me constantly making suggestions about a glorified and a transformed social order based upon Service and Fellowship. Outwardly he was writing about medieval romances, old Norse legends, and all sorts of strange wonders occurring in "lands east of the sun and west of the moon." In reality he was endeavoring to reveal to his fellowmen the world as it might be—filled with splendid struggle and unbreakable fellowships. Into such things as these Morris poured his ripest imagination, shaping some of the fairest and most sane ideals possible to this or any future age.

No one can thoughtfully read the almost forgotten "Roots of the Mountains"—a story of hunters, shepherds, soil-tillers and craftsmen into whose lives came the threat and horror of "the dusky men"—without re-shaping it, as Morris meant we should, and applying more than a little to the needs of our Today. Everywhere in these great prose romances, so full of health, eagerness, devotion to high causes and loyalty to the best there is in man, one finds joyous labor, ceaseless battle against evil. Everywhere one finds large, free spaces, valleys filled with homes, tree-covered mountains, towns and cities where Brothers of the Guilds dwell together with song and mirth in happy-hearted toil.

Though Morris puts in many a nobleman, prince and emperor, these are but the embroideries of his tales—he does not more than half believe them himself. The ideals that truly underlie all of his romances are very plainly those of his famous lectures to workmen and his articles in *The Common Weal*, the organ of the Socialist League.

It would require detailed analysis of these very fascinating tales, and liberal quotations, to fully show the essential unity and the constantly broadening ideals of life which exist in all the writings of William Morris, quite as much in his so-called

romances as in his lectures and more carefully defined sociological books.

In this brief memorandum I can only urge readers not to forget the permanent value of the ideals that William Morris constantly set forth with such literary charm of narrative, in a quaint English so much his own that no one since he passed away has ever ventured to use it.

Sometimes it seems to those who fight the battles of insurgency and of coming social reconstructions, as if life were too strenuous for songs, poems and romances. Still I think they have an unspeakable value, keeping us in touch, carrying us over hard places. I remember that when one of the most practical and progressive leaders of the insurgents was in the thickest of a fight, I sent him a copy of Matthew Arnold's poem "The Last Word," and he responded with Browning's "Childe Harold to the Dark Tower Came." In much the same way one can draw inspiration from the heroes and heroines of whom Morris writes.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

PERIODICALS

Munsey (April).

Mr. Judson C. Welliver tells in the April Munsey the story to date of the People's Rule Movement, and tells it in a very simple and effective way. An old Virginian recently said that his State would never have seceded if the question had been directly referred to the people. Perhaps this is true if such men as General Lee had spoken out instead of the politicians. The article on Lee by Col. Mosby in this number of the magazine tells very interestingly several incidents showing the attitude of the future commander. The day before Lee resigned his commission he went to a store in Alexandria to pay a bill. While waiting there he remarked to some one: "I must say that I am one of those dull creatures that cannot see the good of secession." The merchant wrote down the words, and made this entry: "Spoken by Col. R. E. Lee when he paid this bill, April 19, 1861." Col. Mosby says that the words stand there still today in the merchant's journal.

J. H. D.

Harper's (April).

The reader would be a loyal partisan to claim that the Easy Chair and Study in Harper's have been very interesting during the past year. There is a too apparent effort at easy and condescending familiarity in the style of the veteran editors, and their matter needs no such coating. The most entertaining article in the April number is the Reminiscences of du Maurier, in which there is a good story about Disraeli. Disraeli at the dinner of the Royal Academy praised the highly imaginative quality of English art, and after the dinner, walking with Browning through the exhibition, said to the poet, "Tut, tut, not the slightest trace of imagination." A writer in this number on Flying Machines ventures the prediction that, "Compared with the flying ma-

chine of the future, the motor car will seem as tame and dull as a cart drawn by a weary nag on a dusty country road."

J. H. D.

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The American (April).

Ray Stannard Baker touches the right key in the American Magazine for April, when he distinguishes between the family-managed beer saloon of fifty years ago and the brewery-and-distillery-ringing saloon and bar of today. There is in this distinction all the difference between folk custom and monopoly exploitation. In maintaining exploitation, the liquor monopoly and the high license temperance people are in unconscious partnership, as Mr. Baker's article indicates; for high license furnishes a powerful leverage to liquor monopoly.—The fifth taxation article in Mr. Nock's excellent series, is as sound in principle as it is clear and readable in statement; and not alone in its economic but also in its political aspects. For the May number of the American Mr. Nock promises a report upon land value taxation in Canada, a fiscal method which in this April issue he contrasts favorably and strongly with indirect and double taxation. Between Mr. Nock's article on taxation and William Allen White's on political tendencies, there may not seem to be any relation; but both spring out of what the latter calls "the altruism growing slowly in our hearts," which "cannot be organized unless it is there," but "if it is there it is a social dynamite that the bonds of things as they are cannot hold." In this article Mr. White gives Mr. Bryan his true place in the history of the changing order.—The second of Mr. Taylor's articles on "scientific management" confirms the first impressions that here is a great and unique labor-saving contrivance which can yield its best results only as the spirit of fraternal co-operation in industry displaces that of mastery and servitude. It is with manifest recognition of this necessity that Mr. Taylor writes.

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Sunset Magazine.

In the April number of Sunset (San Francisco, Calif.), Lloyd Osborne proves to us with wonderful colored pictures and persuasion that the only reason we are not all motoring in California is because we have never heard how glorious it is. And Grant Carpenter's story of how the Chinese came to import their own law into America, whether true or not, is worth reading. The Chinamen are in council assembled. "Honorable sirs," spoke Lee Tsi Bong, "this is a strange country of strange people and strange ways; a country where men respect even a big-footed woman but have no reverence for their elders; where women are permitted to associate with men in public places and even to transact business; where no one worships his ancestors, and few have ancestors to worship; where all touch the filthy hands of one another on meeting instead of each shaking his own; where men take off their hats instead of their shoes on entering the home of a friend; where all have pale sickly faces and staring eyes, and the men have big beards and bald heads; where young men have the effrontery to wear beards before they have lived forty years; where every one boasts loudly of much law and great justice for all,

though there is none for us. Now what can we do about all this?" "The fan quai [foreign devils] have many magistrates," said Chew Foo, "and lawyers are as numerous and as busy as cockroaches in a kitchen. Each has many rooms filled with books, and every book is filled with laws upon every subject that men may dispute over—even laws concerning the driving of horses, the catching of shrimps, the picking of chickens, the beating of wives, and all such trifling matters. Yet when we have disputes and buy a big lawyer at a high price we often lose,

though we have plenty of money to pay the magistrate. . . . Even when a magistrate is paid by us to decide a cause in our favor another magistrate says he was wrong and orders him to decide against us, but we never get our money back."

A. L. G.

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Commander—"What's his character apart from this leave-breaking?"

Petty Officer—"Well, sir, this man 'e goes ashore

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Ouch!

The James Ranch, Hartsel, Colo.

March 28, 1911

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Chicago, Ills.

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when 'e likes; 'e comes off when 'e likes; 'e uses 'orrible language when 'e's spoken to; in fact, from 'is general be'avior 'e might be a orficer!"—Punch (London).

* * *

Cashier—"But there is not a cent here to pay this check of yours."

Fair Customer—"I am glad that you have confessed. If your bank is as hard up as that, you can

give me what money I have here and I will take my account to a safer institution."—Puck.

* * *

The Fair Purchaser—"Your eggs are all very small to-day, Mr. Jones."

Mr. Jones—"Yes'm, they are, but I'm sure I don't know the reason."

The Fair Purchaser—"Oh, I expect you took them out of the nests too soon."—Sketch.

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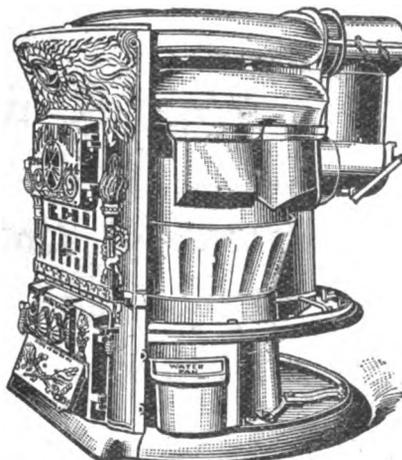
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